

EXHIBIT C
(to Elisabeth C. Frost's Declaration)

November 15, 2019

S.P.S., ex rel. Natalie Short, et al. v. Brad Raffensperger, et al., No. 1:19-CV-4960

United States District Court for the Northern District of Georgia

Expert Report of Bernard L. Fraga, Ph.D.



Bernard L. Fraga, Ph.D.

I. Background and Qualifications

My name is Bernard L. Fraga. I am a political scientist, data analyst, and researcher. I am also an associate professor of political science at Indiana University Bloomington, where I began working in 2013. In my role as an associate professor of political science, I research and teach on the topics of American elections and political representation. I earned my Bachelor of Arts degree in Political Science and Linguistics from Stanford University in 2008. I then earned my Master of Arts degree in Political Science from Harvard University in 2011, and my Ph.D. in Government and Social Policy also from Harvard University in 2013. My undergraduate and graduate training included courses in political science, statistics, and election law.

My academic research focuses on American politics, specifically American elections and representation. I have published peer-reviewed works on these topics in the *American Journal of Political Science*, the *Journal of Politics*, the *Journal of Race, Ethnicity, and Politics*, and the *Quarterly Journal of Political Science*, including articles that focus on the measurement of electoral competition in the United States.¹ I have also published work in the *Stanford Law Review* and have published a book on elections and voter turnout with Cambridge University Press.

¹ This includes Fraga, Bernard L. and Eitan D. Hersh (2018). “Are Americans Stuck in Uncompetitive Enclaves? An Appraisal of U.S. Electoral Competition.” *Quarterly Journal of Political Science* 13 (3): 291-311 and Fraga, Bernard L. and Eitan D. Hersh (2011) “Voting Costs and Voter Turnout in Competitive Elections.” *Quarterly Journal of Political Science* 5(4): 339-356

I have also served as a peer reviewer for numerous academic journals and press outlets in political science, advised multiple Ph.D. dissertations, and have been invited to give many academic lectures regarding my work on elections and representation.

I previously served as an expert regarding election data in *Perez v. Texas* (2017) and *Common Cause Indiana et al. v. Marion County Election Board et al.* (2018). I also served as an expert regarding quantitative analyses of administrative data in *State of California, et al. v. Wilbur Ross, et al.* and *City of San José, et al. v. Wilbur Ross, et al.* (2019).

I have attached to this declaration a true and correct copy of my *curriculum vitae*, listing my academic background and publications. I am being compensated at a rate of \$350.00 per hour. My compensation is not contingent upon my conclusions in this report.

II. Scope of Work

Plaintiffs in this action retained me to evaluate whether general elections have become more competitive in the State of Georgia in recent years. My evaluations, as found in this report, are based on my existing knowledge, expertise, and experience, along with the statistical analysis of relevant election data. I relied on the following data sources: (i) general election results posted on the website of the Georgia Secretary of State for elections from 1988 to 2018; and (ii) general election results listed in the Georgia Official and Statistical Register for elections from 1970 to 1986.

III. Summary of Findings

Based on my analysis of recent and historical election data, I conclude that general elections have become more competitive in Georgia in recent years, relative to previous years:

1. Statewide elections in Georgia were significantly more competitive during the period from 2010 to 2018 than in the period from 1970 to 2008.
2. There were more statewide elections that were competitive in 2018 in Georgia than in any other election year since 1970, with 8 out of 10 statewide elections having a margin of victory of less than 5 percentage points and 10 out of 10 having a margin of victory of less than 10 percentage points.
3. The frequency of competitive U.S. House, Georgia State Senate, and Georgia House of Representatives elections in 2018 was greater than in any other year under the current districting plan.

IV. Evaluating Competition in Statewide Elections in Georgia

In order to evaluate competition in statewide elections in Georgia, I first compiled information on election results from the Georgia Secretary of State's website, which provides information for elections held from 1988 to 2018, including the total number of votes cast for each candidate.²

For data on elections prior to 1988, I relied on election results tables printed in the Georgia Official and Statistical Register or attached as supplements to the

² "Current and Past Election Results," Georgia Secretary of State's Elections Division. URL: https://sos.ga.gov/index.php/Elections/current_and_past_elections_results

Georgia Official and Statistical Register, which are hosted by the Digital Library of Georgia.³ As of 1993, the final year of publication of the Georgia Official and Statistical Register, the Register was prepared by the Georgia Department of Archives and History, a division of the Georgia Secretary of State's office.⁴

The scope of my analysis covered general elections, excluding primary elections, judicial elections, and runoff elections.⁵

Statewide elections included in my analysis include those for Governor, Lieutenant Governor, Secretary of State, Attorney General, Commissioner of Agriculture, Commissioner of Insurance,⁶ State School Superintendent, Commissioner of Labor, and members of the Public Service Commission. Each of these offices is elected by a statewide vote in Georgia.⁷

³ "The Georgia Official and Statistical Register," Digital Library of Georgia. URL: <http://statregister.galileo.usg.edu/statregister/>

⁴ Holmes, Marian B. (1993) "Georgia Official and Statistical Register, 1989-90." Department of Archives & History, Office of Secretary of State.

⁵ Primary elections are excluded, as these elections are intra-party and therefore do not provide information about competition between parties that is revealed through the analysis of general elections. Judicial elections are nonpartisan contests, again not providing information about competition between parties. General runoff elections are held when no candidate receives a majority of the votes cast for the office in the general election and are therefore excluded from my analysis because the need for a runoff is a function of both the level of competition between the top two candidates and the presence or absence of additional candidates on the general election ballot. Furthermore, such elections are the result of a competitive general election that would, by the measure of competitiveness I use, already be recorded as a competitive contest in my analysis.

⁶ Prior to 1986, this office was known as the Comptroller General of Georgia.

⁷ Georgia Public Service Commissioners are elected by a statewide vote, despite the fact that at present each Commissioner is elected to represent one of five districts within the state.

The measure of competitiveness I use is informed by political science research on elections, specifically, analyses of general election competition. The main continuous measure of competitiveness found in the literature is the margin of victory, “which is calculated as the number of votes separating the first and second place candidates for an office divided by the total number of votes cast for the same office.”⁸ The margin of victory may be described in percentage points. For example, an election where the winning candidate received 55 percent of the votes cast and the runner-up received 45 percent of the votes cast would indicate a margin of victory of 10 percentage points.⁹ Common categorical measures of competition use the same information and calculation as the continuous margin of victory measure, but define competitive as an election where the margin of victory was less than or equal to 10 percentage points or less than or equal to 5 percentage points.¹⁰

⁸ Fraga, Bernard L. and Eitan D. Hersh (2018). “Are Americans Stuck in Uncompetitive Enclaves? An Appraisal of U.S. Electoral Competition.” *Quarterly Journal of Political Science* 13 (3), p. 298. Fraga and Hersh (2018) also state “Such a measure of electoral closeness is standard in the literature,” citing Fraga, Bernard L. and Eitan D. Hersh (2011) “Voting Costs and Voter Turnout in Competitive Elections.” *Quarterly Journal of Political Science* 5(4): 339-356, and Geys, Benny (2006) “Explaining voter turnout: A review of aggregate-level research.” *Electoral Studies* 25 (4) 637-663.

⁹ Uncontested elections have 0 competition and are therefore defined as having a margin of victory of 1, equivalent to 100 percentage points. Write-in candidates are included in vote totals when this information was tabulated in the sources I relied upon. The inclusion or exclusion of write-in candidates does not impact the conclusions I reach in this report.

¹⁰ *Ibid*, p. 8.

I present the average margin of victory in statewide general elections in Georgia for 5 election cycle periods (roughly corresponding to decades) from 1970 to 2018 in Table 1.

Table 1: Average Margin of Victory in Georgia Statewide Elections, 1970-2018

Election Years	Average Margin of Victory
1970-1978	77.9
1980-1988	59.8
1990-1998	23.9
2000-2008	13.8
2010-2018	11.7

Note: Includes statewide general elections from 1970-2018. Average Margin of Victory column indicates the difference in percentage points of the total vote won by the winning candidate, as compared to the runner-up, averaged across all elections in the indicated period. Excludes primary elections, judicial elections, and runoffs.

As Table 1 demonstrates, the average margin of victory in statewide general elections during the period from 2010 to 2018 was 11.7 percentage points, equivalent to a 55.8 percent to 44.15 percent result for the winning candidate and losing candidate, respectively, in a two-candidate matchup. This 11.7 percentage point average margin of victory was smaller than in any of the other 5 election cycle periods shown in Table 1, indicating that statewide general elections have become more competitive over time in the State of Georgia.

A two-tailed *t*-test reveals a statistically significant difference between the margin of victory in statewide general elections held from 2010 to 2018 and the margin of victory in statewide general elections held between 1970 and 2008, with the margin of victory being significantly smaller ($p < 0.0000015$) for elections in the most recent period than in the past.

Using the 5 percentage point and 10 percentage point cutoff for what constitutes a competitive election, Georgia statewide elections held in 2018 featured more competitive elections than any other year since at least 1970. Of the 10 statewide general election contests held in 2018, all had a margin of victory for the winning candidate of less than 10 percentage points. Furthermore, 8 out of 10 such elections had a margin of victory of less than 5 percentage points. Table 2 presents the office and margin of victory for each election.

Table 2: Margin of Victory in Georgia Statewide Elections, 2018

Statewide Office	Margin of Victory	Margin of Victory < 10pp?	Margin of Victory < 5pp?
Governor	1.4	Yes	Yes
Lieutenant Governor	3.3	Yes	Yes
Secretary of State	0.4	Yes	Yes
Attorney General	2.6	Yes	Yes
Commissioner of Agriculture	6.2	Yes	No
Commissioner of Insurance	3.4	Yes	Yes
State School Superintendent	6.0	Yes	No
Commissioner of Labor	4.9	Yes	Yes
Public Service Commission, Dist. 3	2.1	Yes	Yes
Public Service Commission, Dist. 5	3.0	Yes	Yes

Note: Includes statewide general elections in 2018. Margin of Victory column indicates difference in percentage points of the total vote won by the winning candidate, as compared to the runner-up. Excludes primary elections, judicial elections, and runoffs.

V. Evaluating Competition in District-Level Elections in Georgia

Statewide elections allow for a consistent, over time measure of the extent of competition in Georgia elections. In each election year, however, there are hundreds of additional elections in Georgia, including elections to U.S. House of Representatives from the State of Georgia, Georgia State Senate, and the Georgia House of Representatives. These elections are held at the level of districts, where only eligible voters registered to vote in those districts participate in the election.

In order to evaluate competition in district-level elections in Georgia, I used information on election results from the Georgia Secretary of State's website, the same source used for the statewide elections analysis.¹¹

The analysis of district-based elections requires attention to the timing of redistricting. In Georgia, district boundaries in place in 2018 for the U.S. House of Representatives and Georgia House of Representatives were first used in the 2012 election, with the exception of 17 districts which were most recently redrawn in 2015.¹² Thus, evaluating changes in general election competitiveness under the same district boundaries as 2018 for these offices indicates that elections in 2012, 2014, 2016, and 2018 may be compared when removing the 17 districts whose boundaries changed for the 2016 election. District boundaries in place in 2018 for the Georgia State Senate were first used in the 2014 election.¹³ Evaluating changes in general election competitiveness under the same district boundaries as 2018 for the Georgia State Senate indicates elections in 2014, 2016, and 2018 may be compared.

Table 3 presents the number of U.S. House from the State of Georgia, Georgia State Senate, and Georgia House of Representatives elections where the margin of victory was less than 10 percentage points and less than 5 percentage points in years from 2012 to 2018.

¹¹ "Current and Past Election Results," Georgia Secretary of State's Elections Division. URL:

https://sos.ga.gov/index.php/Elections/current_and_past_elections_results

¹² See Georgia H.B. 20EX (2011), H.B. 1EX (2011), H.B. 829 (2012), H.B. 566 (2015).

¹³ See Georgia S.B. 430 (2012).

Table 3: Competitive Elections to the U.S. House from the State of Georgia, Georgia State Senate, and Georgia House of Representatives, 2012-2018

Year	District-Level Offices	Elections with Margin of Victory	
		< 10pp	< 5pp
2012	U.S. House	1	0
	Georgia Senate	1	0
	Georgia House	5	3
2014	U.S. House	1	0
	Georgia Senate	0	0
	Georgia House	4	1
2016	U.S. House	0	0
	Georgia Senate	1	1
	Georgia House	6	3
2018	U.S. House	2	2
	Georgia Senate	5	2
	Georgia House	22	15

Note: Elections with Margin of Victory < 10 pp and < 5pp columns indicate the number of elections where the difference in percentage points of the total vote won by the winning candidate, as compared to the runner-up, was less than 10 percentage points or less than 5 percentage points, respectively.

In 2018, two elections to the U.S. House of Representatives from Georgia were decided by less than 5 percentage points. As Table 3 indicates, this exceeds the number of elections that were decided by either a 10-percentage point margin or a 5-percentage point margin for the period from 2012 to 2016.

Furthermore, Table 3 indicates that 5 elections to the Georgia State Senate were competitive in 2018 when using the 10 percentage point threshold, and 2 elections to the Georgia State Senate were competitive in 2018 when using the 5-percentage point threshold. This exceeds the number of elections that were decided by either margin in any other year from 2014 to 2016, when the current districting plan was in place. 2012 elections to the Georgia State Senate also featured only a single competitive election (10 percentage point threshold), versus 5 competitive elections using the same threshold in 2018.

Finally, the number of competitive elections to the Georgia State House of Representatives in 2018 was at least three-times the number of competitive elections in any other year from 2012 to 2016. Whether using the 10-percentage point or 5-percentage point threshold for competitive elections, 2018 elections to the Georgia House of Representatives were dramatically more competitive than in any previous year under the current districting plan.

Overall, in evaluating district-level elections in the State of Georgia from 2012 to 2018, we see substantial evidence of an increase in competition in 2018 relative to other years examined in Table 3. In fact, the aggregate number of U.S. House from the State of Georgia, Georgia State Senate, and Georgia House of Representative elections that were competitive in 2018 exceeds the number of competitive elections for the aforementioned offices in the years from 2012 to 2016 combined.

VI. Conclusion

I conducted an analysis of relevant data on Georgia elections in order to evaluate whether general elections in Georgia have become more competitive in recent years. I found evidence supporting the finding that elections have become more competitive, whether examining statewide elections from the period from 1970 to 2018 or district-level elections during the current districting cycle. The number of statewide elections that were competitive in 2018 exceeded the number of statewide elections that were competitive in any other year since at least 1970, and the number of competitive district-level elections in 2018 exceeds the number of competitive district-level elections held from 2012 to 2016. Therefore, I conclude that general elections in the State of Georgia have become more competitive in recent years.

Bernard L. Fraga

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<i>Academic Affiliations</i>	Indiana University , Bloomington, IN Associate Professor, Department of Political Science (2019 -) Assistant Professor, Department of Political Science (2013-2019) Faculty Affiliate, Center for Research on Race and Ethnicity in Society (2013 -) Faculty Affiliate, Latino Studies Program (2013 -)	
<i>Education</i>	Harvard University , Cambridge, MA Ph.D., Government and Social Policy (2013) A.M., Political Science (2011)	
	Stanford University , Stanford, CA B.A., Political Science and Linguistics (2008) <i>Degree Conferred with Distinction and Departmental Honors</i>	
<i>Book</i>	Fraga, Bernard L. (2018) <i>The Turnout Gap: Race, Ethnicity, and Political Inequality in a Diversifying America</i> . New York: Cambridge University Press. Award: APSA Section on Race, Ethnicity, and Politics Best Book Award Review: <i>Journal of Race, Ethnicity, and Politics</i> , Author Meets Critics: MPSA 2019	
<i>Journal Publications</i>	Fraga, Bernard L. and John Holbein. (2020) "Measuring Youth and College Student Voter Turnout." <i>Electoral Studies</i> . Forthcoming. Fraga, Bernard L., Eric Gonzalez Juenke, and Paru Shah. (2020) "One Run Leads to Another: Minority Incumbents and the Emergence of Lower Ticket Minority Candidates." <i>Journal of Politics</i> . Forthcoming. Fraga, Bernard L. and Eitan D. Hersh. (2018) "Are Americans Stuck in Uncompetitive Enclaves? An Appraisal of U.S. Electoral Competition." <i>Quarterly Journal of Political Science</i> 13 (3): 291-311. Fraga, Bernard L. (2016) "Candidates or Districts? Reevaluating the Role of Race in Voter Turnout." <i>American Journal of Political Science</i> . 60 (1): 97-122. Fraga, Bernard L. (2016) "Redistricting and the Causal Impact of Race on Voter Turnout." <i>Journal of Politics</i> 78 (1): 19-34. Award: MPSA Lucius Barker Award (2015)	
	Ansolabehere, Stephen and Bernard L. Fraga. (2016) "Do Americans Prefer Co-Ethnic Representation? The Impact of Race on House Incumbent Evaluations." <i>Stanford Law Review</i> 68 (6): 1553-1594.	

Fraga, Bernard L. and Julie Lee Merseth. (2016) "Examining the Causal Impact of the Voting Rights Act Language Minority Provisions." *Journal of Race, Ethnicity, and Politics* 1 (1): 31-59.

Fraga, Bernard L. and Eitan D. Hersh. (2011) "Voting Costs and Voter Turnout in Competitive Elections." *Quarterly Journal of Political Science* 5 (4): 339-356.

Teaching

Indiana University

Voting, Elections, and Public Opinion (Undergraduate)
Racial and Ethnic Politics in the U.S. (Undergraduate)
Election Law and Voting Rights (Undergraduate)
Analyzing Politics (Undergraduate)
Electoral Politics and Political Participation (Graduate)
The Politics of Race, Ethnicity, Gender, and Identity (Graduate)
American Politics Workshop (Graduate)

Harvard University

Teaching Fellow/Tutor, Sophomore Tutorial on Democracy (*Undergraduate*)
Teaching Fellow, American Government (*Undergraduate*)

*Grants, Awards,
& Fellowships*

Best Book on Race, Ethnicity, and Political Behavior Award (2019)
American Political Science Association Section on Race, Ethnicity, and Politics

Identity, Community, and Participation Research Grant (2019)
Social Science Research Council Anxieties of Democracy Program

Midwest Political Science Association Latino Caucus Early Career Award (2018)

Visiting Scholar (non-residential) (2017-2020)
Institute for Democracy & Higher Education, Tufts University

Indiana University Summer Instructional Development Fellowship (2017)

New Initiatives Grant (2017)
Massachusetts Institute of Technology Election Data and Science Lab

Indiana University Latino Faculty and Staff Council Emerging Scholar Award (2017)

Indiana University Trustees Teaching Award (2015)

Midwest Political Science Association Lucius Barker Award (2015)

Best Dissertation Award Honorable Mention (2014)
American Political Science Association Section on Race, Ethnicity, and Politics

Harvard Graduate Prize Dissertation Completion Fellowship (2012-2013)

Harvard University Center for American Politics Travel Grant (2012)

Harvard University Certificate of Distinction in Teaching (2011, 2012)

SSRC Graduate Studies Enhancement Grant (2010, 2011, 2012)

NSF-IGERT Doctoral Fellow (2009-2011)

Multidisciplinary Program in Inequality & Social Policy, Harvard University

American Political Science Association Minority Fellow (2008-2010)

Mellon Mays Undergraduate Fellowship (2006-2008)

*Invited
Talks*

University of Pittsburgh, Seminar in Representation and Identity Politics. February 22, 2019. “Separating Race and Party in Congressional Elections”

Fordham University, American Forum Speaker Series, February 6, 2019. “The Turnout Gap: How Racial/Ethnic Disparities in Voter Turnout Skew Election Outcomes”

Tufts University, Tisch College of Civic Life Civic Life Lunch, February 4, 2019. “The Turnout Gap: Race and Voter Turnout”

Princeton University, Conference on Identity and Inequality, October 19, 2018. “The Turnout Gap: Causes and Consequences of Racial/Ethnic Disparities in Voter Turnout”

University of California San Diego, Spring Conference on American Politics, Center for American Politics, May 24, 2018. “Who Does Voter ID Keep from Voting?”

Northwestern University, Race, Ethnicity, and Politics Workshop, February 23, 2018. “The Turnout Gap: Causes and Consequences of Racial/Ethnic Disparities in Voter Turnout.”

The Ohio State University, Symposium Rapporteur for *The New American Electorate Beyond the Voting Booth: Building an Inclusive Democracy*, December 1, 2017.

Columbia University, American Politics Workshop, April 25, 2017. “The Turnout Gap: Exploring the Causes and Consequences of Racial/Ethnic Differences in Voter Turnout.”

Vanderbilt University, Research on Individuals, Politics, and Society Speaker Series, February 27, 2017. “The Turnout Gap: Exploring the Causes and Consequences of Racial/Ethnic Differences in Voter Turnout.”

Rice University, Speaker Series, January 27, 2017. “The Turnout Gap: Examining the Causes and Consequences of Racial/Ethnic Differences in Voter Turnout.”

ICPSR Summer Institute, Blalock Lecture, August 4, 2016. “Using Big Data to Measure, Map, and Explain Racial Differences in Voter Turnout.”

University of Chicago, American Politics Workshop, Nov 9, 2015. “Changing Districts, Changing Turnout: Redistricting and Minority Political Participation.”

Harvard Kennedy School, Ash Center for Democratic Governance and Innovation Workshop Participant and Panelist, March 26, 2015. "How Data is Helping Us Understand Voting Rights After *Shelby County v. Holder*."

*Conference
Participation*

American Political Science Association Annual Meeting

Paper/Book Presentation: 2010, 2011, 2014 (2), 2017 (2), 2018
Roundtable/Workshop Panelist: 2018
Panel Chair/Discussant: 2015, 2017

Midwest Political Science Association Annual Meeting

Paper/Book Presentation: 2010, 2012, 2014, 2015, 2016 (2), 2017, 2018, 2019
Roundtable/Workshop Panelist: 2019
Workshop Organizer: 2019
Panel Chair/Discussant: 2014, 2015, 2017, 2019 (2)

Western Political Science Association Annual Meeting

Paper Presentation: 2015
Workshop Organizer: 2019
Panel Chair/Discussant: 2015, 2018

Election Sciences, Reform, and Administration Summer Conference

Program Co-Chair: 2017
Paper Presentation: 2017
Panel Chair/Discussant: 2017, 2018

Politics of Race, Immigration, and Ethnicity Consortium (PRIEC)

Presentation: 2013, 2018
Discussant: 2017

Symposium on the Politics of Immigration, Race, and Ethnicity (SPIRE)

Co-Organizer: 2017, 2018
Institution Host: 2014
Paper Presentation: 2012

*Campus
Presentations*

Indiana University

American Politics Workshop: 2015, 2017, 2018
Workshop on Race, Ethnicity, and Migration: 2016
Neal-Marshall Black Culture Center: 2014
Social Science Research Commons, Workshop in Methods: 2013

Harvard University

American Politics Research Workshop: 2011 (2), 2012
Political Psychology and Behavior Workshop: 2010, 2011

*Advising &
Service*

Ph.D. Dissertation Committee Member, Indiana University

Colin Fisk (Chair)

Rita Nassar (Co-Chair)

Eric Schmidt

Vivian Ferrillo

Xuan Li (Central Eurasian Studies)

Katelyn Stauffer (defended July 2018)

Laura Bucci (defended July 2017)

Matthew Fowler (defended July 2017)

Ian Anson (defended June 2015)

Master's Thesis Examiner in Political Science, Yannick Vogel, Freie Universität Berlin (2017-2018)

Faculty Mentor, Advanced Empirical Research on Politics for Undergraduates Program (Sierra Wiese), Society for Political Methodology (2019)

Faculty Mentor, Center for Research on Race and Ethnicity in Society Postdoctoral Scholar (Vanessa Cruz Nichols), Indiana University (2017-2019)

Faculty Mentor, Center for Research on Race and Ethnicity in Society Undergraduate Research Program, Indiana University (2017-2018)

Honors Thesis Mentor, Department of Political Science, Indiana University (2014-2016, 2018-2020)

Faculty Mentor, Cox Research Scholars Program, Indiana University (2013-2020)

Co-coordinator, Department of Political Science Political Analytics Program, Indiana University (2018-2020)

Faculty Sponsor, Pi Sigma Alpha Society, Indiana University (2019-2020)

Coordinator, Department of Political Science American Politics Subfield, Indiana University (2018-2019)

Board Member, All In Campus Democracy Project and Big 10 Voting Challenge, Indiana University (2016, 2018)

Member, Diversity and Affirmative Action Committee, Bloomington Faculty Council, Indiana University (2016-2017)

Member, Center for Research on Race and Ethnicity in Society Postdoctoral Fellowship Selection Committee, Indiana University (2014)

Department of Political Science Committee Member, Indiana University

Development Committee (2018-2019)

Personnel Committee (2017-2018)

Graduate Program and Admissions Committee (2013-2017)

Undergraduate Program Committee (2015-2016)

Graduate Awards Committee (2014-2015)

Professional Activities & Affiliations

Editorial Board Member: *American Journal of Political Science* (2019 -), *Political Behavior* (2019 -)

Reviewer: *American Political Science Review*; *American Journal of Political Science*; *Journal of Politics*; *Journal of Race, Ethnicity, and Politics*; *Cambridge University Press*; *Oxford University Press*; *W.W. Norton & Co.*; *British Journal of Political Science*; *Political Analysis*; *Political Research Quarterly*; *Political Psychology*; *Public Opinion Quarterly*; *Legislative Studies Quarterly*; *Political Behavior*; *Electoral Studies*; *American Politics Research*; *Politics, Groups, and Identities*; *PS: Political Science*

Member, Western Political Science Association Committee on the Status of Latinos/as in the Profession (2017-2019, Chair 2018-2019)

Member, Executive Committee, Section on Race, Ethnicity, and Politics, American Political Science Association (2019-2021)

Member, Nominations Committee, Section on Race, Ethnicity, and Politics, American Political Science Association (2017-2019)

Research Affiliate, Democracy Fund Voter Study Group (2018 -)

Chair, Lucius Barker Award Selection Committee, Midwest Political Science Association (2017-2018)

Member: American Political Science Association; Midwest Political Science Association; Western Political Science Association

Consulting

Expert, *State of California, et al. v. Wilbur Ross, et al. & City of San José, et al. v. Wilbur Ross, et al.*, Effects of undercount on Census due to addition of a citizenship question. (2018-2019)

Expert, Report for Fillenwarth Dennerline Groth & Towe, LLP, Assessment of partisan gerrymandering. (2018)

Expert, *Common Cause Indiana, et al. v. Marion County Election Board, et al.*, Impact of closure of early voting sites on minority voters. (2017)

Expert, *Shannon Perez, et al. v. State of Texas, et al.*, Assessment of partisan gerrymandering. (2017)